UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Patriotism—What Is It?

By JESSE H. HOLMES

Self-Government for India

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Political Confusion in China

By GILBERT REID

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCV MONDAY, JUNE 1, 1925 NUMBER 14

A DESCANT

When Spring comes tripping o'er the lea,
And grasses start to meet her,
The bluebird sings
With quivering wings
Brief rhapsodies to greet her;
And deems—fond minstrel!—none may be,
The wide world over, blithe as he.

And where the brooklet tinkles by,
And the yellow snow-drop dances,
And wind-flowers frail
And bloodroots pale
Lift up appealing glances,
The flute-voiced meadow-lark on high
Sings, "None on earth is glad as I!"

Laughs Corydon, "Your hearts are bold,
Yet little ye can measure,
Poor, silly birds,
Spring's sweetest words,
Or guess at my proud pleasure,
When Phyllis comes, and all the wold,
For sudden joy, buds into gold!"

—*Florence Earle Coates.*

The citizens of America again stand heavily in debt to their President, Mr. Coolidge, on several counts. First of all is his announcement to Europe, through the speech of Ambassador Houghton in London, that it is time to stop the silly business of fears and hatreds and suspicions, and get down to the serious business of peace. Next is his smashing rebuke to the Army gang of militarists for their suggestion that Armistice Day be turned into a mobilization day for the waving of flags and the brandishing of arms. We wish that the President would do away with this mobilization idea altogether, but this is another story. What is of importance now is the fact that the first move of the militarists has been checked. Again there is the prompt rejection by the President of the outrageous idea that Hawaii be turned into a huge fortress and thus be made the Gibraltar of the Pacific. This notion is the result of the war-games, which themselves should never have been allowed. But the horse, fortunately, has not been stolen, and the President is losing no time in locking the door. These recent actions, coupled with Mr. Coolidge's growing interest in disarmament and his repeated pledges of support of the program for the Outlawry of War, prove conclusively that the President is definitely opposed to everything savoring of militarism. What is needed now is an unmistakable demonstration that the people are with him in what he is doing and thinking. Let the shout of approval go up to Washington like a hurricane—and the generals and admirals will find themselves pretty completely out of business.

It is hard to find anybody to tell the truth about the Dawes Plan. The word has gone out that it is inspired, and therefore, like the Bible, must be accepted without question. Now and then, however, there appears a heretic, and the truth is blurted right out. Such a heretic seems to be Mr. Oscar T. Crosby, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who spoke some words at a recent meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science which were plainly not down upon the program. He is not at all sure that the German currency suddenly stabilized by the Dawes Plan is going to remain stabilized. On the contrary, "thus far the indications in that respect are disquieting." He is something more than doubtful that the "annual transfers" arranged by the Plan can be met at any such figure as has been projected. As for the Plan as a whole, it is "a poultice," says Mr. Crosby, "with a sprinkling of red pepper, the whole laid upon several running sores. These require something more for cure than such a poultice, soothing as it may be now." All of which seems to us to be mild in the extreme! We can see the advantages of the Dawes Plan from the standpoint of the impossible conditions which it supplanted. Anything would be a gain after Versailles and the Reparations Commission! But from the standpoint of what is needed for the rehabilitation of Europe, and its establishment in conditions of justice and peace, the Dawes Plan is as bad as the League of Nations plans for the restoration of Austria and Hungary, than which nobody can find anything worse. Whether the election of Von Hindenburg will bring the situation to a crisis, or conditions will be left to drift on slowly from bad to worse, remains to be seen. Meanwhile, the utter collapse of the Dawes Plan, soon or late, would seem to be certain.

Speaking of Austria, on one and the same day we received a personal letter from that unhappy country reporting that the situation is worse than ever, and read a special despatch from Vienna in the New York *Times* setting forth the speculations that are going forth in Europe "as to how Austria can best be helped" or "how her downfall must come." It is perhaps to the credit of the League of Nations and the administrator of its Austrian program of rehabilitation, Dr. Zimmermann, that this "downfall," thus direfully prophesied, has not long since transpired. Just to keep such a maimed and broken carcass as Austria breathing all this time, is

something to boast about. Or it would be something to boast about, if the international bankers were not fattening off the spoils snatched from the dying Austrians by the infallible device of loans! As a plan for putting Austria permanently on its feet, however, the League of Nations scheme is now seen to be in practice as hopeless a failure as we prophesied, in theory, at the start that it would be. For all his professional optimism, Commissioner Zimmermann cannot conceal the real facts in the situation. Here it is months after the League of Nations guaranteed to have Austria fully restored to health and strength, in charge once again of her own affairs—and Zimmermann is still on the job, and writing in his twenty-eighth monthly report that economic conditions are most unsatisfactory—so unsatisfactory as to "awaken the interest of international circles ever increasingly"! The Commissioner even goes so far over in the direction of utter despair as to confess that "it will be difficult to keep within the limits of the budget project for the current year." Even the balanced budget, that great achievement won at cost of such dreadful misery to the population of unemployment and burdensome taxation, is going by the board! If this happens, of course, it means the sinking of the ship. Austria will either be partitioned by the Little Entente, united with Germany, or made tributary to Italy. In any case, the War will have completed its most hideous abomination, and the League of Nations will have recorded its most ignominious and shameful failure.

The late General Charles Mangin, hero of Verdun and other battles in the Great War, was a perfect example of the savage in uniform. The Communists and other radicals in France called him "the butcher," and the only reply to the characterization was the assertion that Mangin spoke in a low voice, was a man of wide reading and a fine musician—all of which reminds us of the gentle inquisitioner who always insisted upon listening to exquisite music as his victims were tortured in his sight! Mangin's military record is his own unanswerable indictment. In the War he was known as one of France's most terrible fighters, largely because he was utterly ruthless in pouring his men into the most dreadful conflicts. He was opposed to the Armistice, preferring to murder men indefinitely if only he could get his foot on German soil and there wreak vengeance upon its people. After the Armistice he was appointed to command the first Rhine army of occupation, but was removed at the insistence of President Wilson, who found Mangin's handling of a delicate situation intolerable. On the credit side were his tireless energy, his dauntless physical courage, his free democratic spirit—familiar qualities of many a savage soldier before him. Mangin's great reputation demonstrates conclusively what a soldier has to be if he is to succeed triumphantly in his chosen profession of arms. War is not a pink-tea affair; it is not a game for sportsmen; it is not a function of civilization and culture. War is the brute business of killing; it is sheer barbarism surviving late into the world's history. The soldier, therefore, has no place for gentleness or mercy. By the very necessities of the case he must be a savage; and the more completely he fills the rôle, the better. Mangin, as we have said, was the perfect specimen of savage, and thus the perfect soldier. Referring to his opposition to the Armistice, the New York *Times* says, "This was the soldierly spirit of the man." Just so! It was Mangin's business to kill Germans till there were no more to kill—and he knew it!

In all the discussion of Prohibition that has been going on during the last two or three years there has been present, especially in the arguments of the "Wets," a fallacy which needs correcting. The fallacy to which we refer is that of presenting the present situation in this country, more especially as regards Prohibition enforcement, against the background of an ideally dry society, and then denouncing what is going on as evidence of the failure and even criminality of the whole Prohibition policy. Inasmuch as the world has never yet been dry at any time, why should we judge existing conditions from the standpoint of this ideal dream? Why indeed should we judge any condition as a measure of achievement from the standpoint of any ideal? Is not the real standard not what ought to be now, or what may be tomorrow, but what actually was yesterday. In other words, should we not estimate our progress from where we started, from things as they actually were when we undertook to make them better? As regards the Prohibition situation, nobody can deny that we are falling far short of what we hoped to attain when the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution was enacted. But this is not the question! Are we making progress, are things better than they were, is America drier since the eighteenth amendment was adopted than she was before? These are the real issues, and they are the issues which are almost never met! The fact of the matter is, as the "Drys" know, and the "Wets" ought to know, the situation as regards the liquor problem today represents a vast improvement over anything that has been known before. If any city is wet today, it is New York. We have lived in this city eighteen years; we knew it well before the adoption of the Prohibition amendment, as we have known it since. In spite of all the wetness, the liquor situation in New York is so much better than it has ever been before, that we cannot imagine anybody but a lunatic desiring to return to pre-Volstead days. John Lovejoy Elliott, the eminent social worker, has spent a generation living among the tenement dwellers of Manhattan, and it is his testimony in the February issue of the *World Tomorrow* (page 43), "that bad as the conditions are in the tenements of the districts

which I know, brought about by boot-legging and home brew, they are immeasurably better than they ever were in the days of the saloon." All we have to do to realize that Prohibition is a success is to remember what went on in the old days, and then compare with this the situation as it exists today. It is just because this comparison vindicates the Prohibition policy that the "Wets" refuse to allow the discussion to be conducted from this sandpoint.

The resignation of Charles Francis Potter from the West Side Unitarian Church, New York City, and his withdrawal from the ministry to enter the education field as Executive Secretary of Antioch College, are events worth thinking about. Mr. Potter has been one of the most successful, and worthily successful, clergymen in New York in recent years. In the most difficult city in the country for religious work, he has moved his church from the Harlem district to the upper Broadway neighborhood, erected an adequate church plant, and organized in various departments a thoroughly modern type of parish and community activities. In a five-year pastorate he increased the financial resources of his church three-fold, and its average Sunday morning congregations ten-fold. At the same time, by sheer force of energy, ability and consecration, with the help of publicity devices as legitimate as they were ingenious, he gained the respectful attention of a great metropolis to which upon his advent he was practically unknown, and did more to put Unitarianism "on the map" than any minister since the days of Dr. Savage. If any man would seem to have demonstrated the triumphant possibilities of the church in this present age, it is Dr. Potter. Yet he has now resigned, with the statement to his people that the work of the church "is largely nullified by our faulty education," and the prophecy "that when education becomes perfected, the churches will be unnecessary"! We have seen no more disastrous blow to organized religion in our time than this action by Mr. Potter. If Unitarianism, or any denomination for that matter, cannot hold a man like Mr. Potter, what is it worth? If this man is thus leaving the pulpit, why should any active, devoted man enter it? If a man as successful as Mr. Potter sees only futility in the church today and only extinction tomorrow, how can any hope be proffered on its behalf? These questions are terrific challenges which we do not believe can be evaded or answered by the churches, orthodox and liberal, as they exist today.

What Mr. Potter discovered in his work is that the game isn't worth the candle. He took the regulation denominational church, and he developed it with amazing success to its utmost point of attainment. If there was any minister in New York City who was demonstrating all that could be done with such a church, it was Mr. Potter. Now, at the very zenith of his achievement, one of the proudest of our day, he sees that there is nothing in it—and turns to something worth while! Mr. Potter's judgment, as we have said, we believe to be absolutely sound, his action in many ways amply justified. Yet we cannot reconcile ourselves to his leaving the ministry altogether. The call of our day is to abandon the churches as they are, very true—but at the same time to serve the new and greater church which is even now "building and being built upon." The outlines of this church are already becoming clear. Mr. Holmes, of the Community Church of New York, presented them in his sermon preached on the one hundredth anniversary of that institution on March 15th last.

"I see a church," said Mr. Holmes, "free and independent—free of tradition, independent of conformity. I see a church which takes no sectarian name, recognizes no sectarian allegiance, achieves no sectarian work. I see a church which rids itself of all denominational obligations, and gives itself utterly to the community. I see a church rich in membership, organization, leadership, knows neither liberal nor orthodox, Protestant nor Catholic, Christian nor pagan, but only *men*, all children of God, and all brothers one of another.

"Secondly, I see a church which, while independent of any religious, national, racial, or social group, nevertheless seeks fellowship with all. I see a church which stands apart from no group of sincere men anywhere who will in hospitality receive our proffered hand of love. Wherever in any church, or nation, or social class, we find a group of men seeking in their righteous way the common welfare, we would be one with them in sympathy and high endeavor. Thus shall we share the life of all, yet be bound to the special interests of none.

"Lastly, I see a church engaged in great works of instruction and social betterment. I see a church which seeks to be itself the instrument of knowledge and great reforms. The parish church is dead; a club of like-minded men and women who played and worked together, it has no place in the seething life of this vast community. In its stead must come the church which is a public institution, led by a staff of preachers and teachers, manned by a corps of professional workers, organized like a university or a government for efficient service of the good. The parish church, the institutional church, the union church—they have all come, and are going. Now comes the community church—not the church, but the community itself here functioning spiritually as elsewhere it is functioning politically, culturally, and socially."

Men all over this country are dreaming of this church, and many of them are laboring for its coming. Their labors are not in vain!

Patriotism—What Is It?

Not long ago Senator Borah defined a "radical" as one who believes in the Constitution of the United States. This has led me, among many others I hope, to reread and reconsider a few of our great state papers which, like our Bibles, are generally reverenced and seldom read. Thus I read again that "all men are created equal," and have "inalienable rights" to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and also that it is "the Right of the People" (with Capitals) to "alter or abolish their form of government" when they come to distrust its effectiveness. I turn to the preamble of the Constitution and read that the "more perfect

Union" is for the purpose of establishing justice, tranquility, safety, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity. The first amendment provides that Congress "shall make no law" in any way interfering with freedom of religion, free speech and press, freedom of assembly and petition. A later amendment prohibits the States from abridging these rights and privileges. Washington's Farewell Address warns those entrusted with the administration of government against such encroachments in the exercise of power as may result "whatever the form of government" in "real despotism." Lincoln's First Inaugural says, "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it." Not those who founded it, nor those who were born in it; not its white inhabitants, nor its protestant inhabitants, but "the people who inhabit it." Lincoln goes on, "Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

It will be observed that in all these statements from the great foundation documents of our history, the element of absolutely primary importance is "the people who inhabit" our country, and that the thing of absolutely primary importance for those people, is freedom, —freedom of religion, of thought, of expression, of meeting with their fellows for common purposes, of amendment or transformation of any or all of their institutions. Property has altogether a secondary place, having importance only as it contributes to the welfare of people. The structure of the government also stands or falls accordingly as it does or does not contribute to the life, liberty and happiness of the "people who inhabit it."

Such a review of the purposes and meanings of the founders of our republic seems to me important just now because we are hearing so much about patriotism, which seems to imply that it is a love of institutions, and should express itself in the effort to suppress all criticism of those institutions, and to maintain them unchanged to the end; whereas a genuine patriotism, unless our great founders were altogether mistaken, centers about a constant readjustment of institutions in the interest of general human welfare. No institutions are sacred except in so far as they actually serve mankind; and whether they actually serve mankind or not is only to be determined by the testimony of individual men as to their effects in the life of their own times. There can be no question, I suppose, that the organization of our nation under the Constitution, was a great achivement in the way of human happiness. It should be maintained so long as and in so far as it continues to serve mankind,—no longer. Every item of it,—every institution established under it,—is and should always be on trial for its life. Does the Supreme Court encroach on the powers of Congress or of the Executive? Then, unless it can be definitely shown that such encroachment is for the common good, it should be restrained or modified. It is a human institution and is subject to human limitations,—not at all a divine institution beyond all question forever. Is the President usurping, or having forced upon him, powers that involve danger to popular liberty? Then the time has come to limit those powers, and if necessary to entirely reorganize the Executive. The whole machine is only a means to the great ends of liberty and happiness; it is mere stupidity that makes it seem to be an end in itself.

And these statements apply not alone to the mechanism of government:—they are equally true of all other human institutions,—church, school, property systems,—all are for the sake of men, not men for the sake of them. Loyalty is never due to any of them but only through them to the men they were created to serve. Man is the primary and only value; all things else that seem to have value, take their supposed value from some service to his needs or desires. The church as at present organized and managed, is not serving mankind as it once did and as it is intended to serve him. And we find a surprisingly large section of its members, who are taking the position that men must be changed to suit the institution,—the church machine, —instead of making the machine over so as to meet his needs. Our schools are doubtless serving us well in certain elementary ways, but they too tend always to become formalized and to lose the individual human touch in the machine. Their essential purpose should center about human welfare, and to that end about the discovery and development of the special powers of individual students. Yet a surprising number of our people think they should be used to keep things as nearly as possible unchanged from generation to generation. Note the legislation in Tennessee and elsewhere forbidding the teaching of the latest great developments in science; note legislation in New York, the District of Columbia, and elsewhere practically forbidding criticism of our form of government when all of our ideals demand the habit of free criticism; note the widespread persecution of teachers in colleges and schools for alleged "radicalism." Our system of private property has resulted in concentrating sixty per cent of our wealth in the hands of two per cent of our population and in leaving sixty-five per cent of our people with only five percent of the wealth. Such distribution is certainly not in the interest of life, liberty and happiness for our people, and it is the duty of our government to find the cause of this evil condition and to remedy it. Yet the "hundred per cent" Patrioteer resents even a consideration of our property system and seems to feel that the function of government is above all to protect present property arrangements, falsely called rights.

All this is an unpatriotic denial of the very founda-

tions of our nation as set forth in all our great state papers. "Our Country" to which we owe loyalty, is not rocks and rills, is not mythical Uncle Sams, but is human rights,—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,—the rights of free thought, free speech, and free assembly,—the rights of amendment and revolution, all of which rights are provided for in orderly and peaceful fashion in our Constitution itself. Those are loyal to our country who demand and maintain these rights for all, those are disloyal traitors, however noisy in profession of patriotism, who deny them to any.

JESSE H. HOLMES.

Jottings

We find in a contemporary the following Prayer, written by Aristophanes during the Peloponnesian War (400 B. C.):

From the murmur and subtlety of suspicion with which we vex one another,
Give us rest.
Make a new beginning,
And mingle again the kindred of the nations in the alchemy of love,
And with some fine essence of forbearance
Temper our minds.

One-sixth of one per cent of the seniors at Harvard College are planning to enter the ministry. Two per cent of the fathers of these boys are now ministers. We commend this data to the consideration of the optimists who tell us how the church is prospering these days!

It was Josiah Royce, if we remember rightly, who said that America had produced three great thinkers—Jonathan Edwards, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and William James. We wonder if the time has not come to add the name of a fourth—John Dewey!

Madison Square Garden, New York, was opened thirty-five years ago with a symphony concert; it was closed some weeks ago with a prize-fight. We wonder if this is an index of the progress of mankind onward and upward forever!

The New York *Times* gives us the startling information that, if it had not been for the Great War, we would not have had the World Court. Just think of it! Let's have another Great War, with another ten million men killed, and perhaps we can have still another Court to add to the present collection. We had thought that courts were organized to prevent wars, but we are mistaken. It is now obvious that wars are fought to establish courts.

We find nothing more amusing than the orthodox popularity today of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. Driven out of the country a few years ago as utterly dangerous and disrespectable radicals, their articles are now published by the most conservative newspapers, and their books by the best publishers. Yet this is no mystery! These anarchists are opposed to Bolshevism in Russia.

J. H. H.

American Notes

(Editorial Correspondence.)

How to dispose of the dead has ever been a problem in human society. Earth burial has been the form adopted for ages by the white races. In the United States cremation is rapidly taking hold. For example, I attended a funeral of a friend last week. It was held in the chapel of a crematorium. This chapel was fitted up with two or three hundred chairs, with a raised platform for reading desk and casket. On one side of the platform was a little room for the musicians; on the other side a room for the relatives, who would be shut off from the gaze of the congregation. This chapel is situated on the edge of one of the best cemeteries of the city. The services were exactly like those that would be held in a regular chapel or church, the only difference being that perhaps there were here more suggestions of cheerfulness, by means of flowers and ancient pictures. The pastor of my friend officiated. The funeral that I attended might be followed in half an hour by the funeral of a Baptist or Presbyterian or infidel. After the funeral exercises the people slowly went away leaving a few friends and the manager of the crematorium to place the casket and body in the incinerator, which is well robbed of disagreeable suggestions—oil and electricity. Next day the ashes of casket and body may be found in a small copper receptacle—holding about a pint—resting in the columbarium, a part of the crematorium. The ashes may repose there permanently or be disposed of according to the wishes of the friends of the departed.

The practice of cremation is unquestionably on the increase in America. In Seattle, where I witnessed the cremation, there are six crematoriums, which are all owned and operated by six different undertakers. I understand, however, that it is not the rule that the undertaker should own the crematorium. Rather it is owned by a separate corporation, and patronized by all the undertakers. In this city, I was informed that at least one half of the dead were disposed of by cremation. The arguments for cremation are economy, sanitation, cleanliness, convenience. The "graveyard idea" seems to have lost its hold on multitudes of migratory moderns. The practice is much more common on the Pacific coast than on the Atlantic, on account of the natural conservatism of the east. Where municipalities or counties have to care for the disposal of the dead, cremation is increasingly used. I know of one "poor-farm" where there has been built a crematorium at an expense of a couple of thousand dollars, and in this

all who die "poor" are cremated. This crematory is also used by the neighbors. I was told that the expense for cremation—after the initial expense of plant—was only two or three dollars. The best crematories, like the one in which my friend was cremated, can be built for about ten thousand dollars. This, of course, includes the nice chapel, organ, parlors, etc. The opposition to cremation comes from religious sources; some of the churches, notably the Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Orthodox Jews being opposed on principle. This opposition shows itself only in declining to patronize the crematoriums. Champions of cremation claim that opposition comes from economic roots, that "those who own and manage graveyards do not believe in cremation, naturally."

It is admitted that cremation would not permit posthumous examinations of bodies, for the discovery of evidences of guilt. Cremation makes it doubly certain that a "dead man tells no tales." However, cremation in America, as a means of disposal of the dead, is certainly making very rapid progress. The item of expense will have great influence in the long run. I notice, for example, on the little card put out by the Cremation Society, under whose auspices my friend was cremated, that a charge of 35 dollars is made for the incineration of one adult; 25 dollars for a child; 12 dollars for a babe. These charges include the use of the chapel, organ service and a heavy receptacle for the ashes; also that suitable caskets may be secured as low as ten or fifteen dollars. It may be added that the attempt is made to perform cremation as free from disturbing suggestions, as possible. In this direction, i. e., in making death appear as pleasant as possible, America has gone probably as far as any other nation.

The church occupies a prominent place in American life,—always has, since the early planting of colonies along the Atlantic shore, from Massachusetts to Georgia. Christians are divided on the one hand by the Roman Catholic church claiming about one-fourth of the population, and on the other by over two hundred Protestant denominations. The Protestants have been for many years troubled over their divisions and have probably prayed more for unity than for any other single thing. But the more they have prayed, the more apparently the denominations have multiplied. I attended last week the annual meeting of a council of Federated churches (Protestant) and the situation was clearly brought out, first by the president's address, and second by the action of the council. What I saw and heard probably represents the best thought of the Protestant churches of America.

The address was by Rev. J. E. Crowther, pastor of the University Methodist church. He is a fine preacher and has won a national reputation by creating a religious drama called "The Wayfarer,"—which was first put on as a great out-door pageant and oratorio, running for several weeks and drawing crowds. It is to be given again this summer. It is attended by about as many as attend the Passion-Play of Oberammergau. Dr. Crowther was the child of an English miner. In his address he stressed the idea of unity among the churches. As the audience listened, it seemed as if everyone felt as I did that the argument for unity was "all in." Here were the points of the plea. The issues that divide the churches are now dead. The present little disturbances about "fundamentalism" and "modernism" are temporary. There is a marked decadence of the spirit of denominationalism. The mere mention today of 4 styles of Quakers, 14 styles of Baptists, 16 different varieties of Methodists, 24 kinds of Lutherans, etc., is to provoke laughter. As a result, the functions that once belonged to the churches are being absorbed by non-church bodies. The magnitude of the home missionary work demands unity. World-evangelism demands unity. It is absurd to hear of the "Dutch Reformed American Chinese Church" in China. There is a demand for unity when it is remembered that the gospel is being challenged at the point of application to the present social order. Dr. Crowther then proceeded to point out the steps toward unity: 1. We must know each other. 2. There must be freedom in the quest for truth. 3. We must look for diversity in unity. "When I started in the ministry, the second book that fell into my hands after the "Sermons by John Wesley" was "Lay Sermons by Huxley." That dose of Huxley saved me from mountains of intolerance and prejudice, for which I have never ceased to be thankful." "Methodists should never forget that while Wesley wrote 'Jesus, Lover of my soul,' a Unitarian wrote 'In the Cross of Christ, I glory'." After this "stirring" speech on unity, the council proceeded to adopt a plan for comity between denominations, especially in large communities.

I give here an idea of this plan of comity so that the reader may see the trend in the religious life of America. It has been adopted in several large cities, notably St. Louis. The objective of the plan of comity is the elimination of waste, the cultivation of parish responsibility, co-operative programs in neighborhood communities, co-ordination of welfare organizations with church work. The plan is to be carried through by the creation of a commission, all the churches of a given community appointing representatives, the larger denominations having more representatives. This commission, by means of surveys to help to ascertain the facts of situations, shall guide the development of the organization of the religious life of the community, to the end that no part of the community shall be neglected, there shall not be unnecessary duplication of effort, new enterprises shall not be begun without the knowledge of the commission and an understanding with other denominations. The idea is to treat the whole community as a "co-operative parish." So while individual churches may continue to retain their individuality and specific work, yet it is expected that all will cultivate the ideal of a "co-operative parish."

SYDNEY STRONG.

No one can hold from you your own
God's laws unerring are—
What you are in your inmost soul
Reveals your polar star.

The quality of your thought world,
Draws to itself its kind,
So, if your life lacks aught worth while,
Look to your state of mind.

Nautilus Magazine. —*Henrietta Heron.*

A star looks down at me,
And says: 'Here I and you
Stand, each in our degree:
What do you mean to do—
Mean to do?'

I say: 'For all I know,
Wait, and let Time go by,
Till my change come.'—'Just so,'
The star says: 'So mean I—
So mean I.'

Mercury (London). —*Thomas Hardy.*

Self-Government for India*

I want to say something about the political situation in India because it seems to me that what is going on in India is of so enormous an import to us all that it cannot be overlooked, because I believe that Americans have so much to gain from the appreciation and understanding of what is happening. . . .

It was Richard Cobden, who asked seventy years ago whether the blood-cemented edifice which his country had erected in India would not some day "cave in like a house of cards." Were he living to-day he might be justified in acclaiming himself a prophet. Not that it would bring him honor in his own country! I am always astounded at the number of English liberals and radicals I meet whose liberalism ends when we touch upon the strands of India. They tell us that anyone who believes in complete self-government for India is not the friend, but the enemy of India and the Indian people. They do not deny the evils of British government! They hang their heads with shame at the mention of Amritzar, at every reference to the monies poured out for the blood-stained general who ordered those wholesale murders. But, they say, bad as this is, let us not withdraw from India, for then, indeed, the blood-stained edifice will "cave in like a pack of cards," and the blood letting will begin in earnest! It will then be religion against religion, tribe against tribe, caste against caste, class against class, state against state. They bewail the incredible failure of the British government in India to educate the peoples, and then they turn around and say "you must not let them govern themselves because of the fearful percentage of illiteracy."

Theoretically they believe in democracy and every one of its watchwords. They will agree that the best cure for the evils of democracy is not less democracy, but more, and that a nation can attain to self-government only by practicing self-government. They will agree that a backward nation must have the right to climb to sound self-government by stumbling and falling, not once but many times; and then they will tell you that all of this does not apply to India. They will not admit it, but it is the truth—their liberalism ceases with the color line, precisely as the most ardent champions of the gospel of democracy in America see no inconsistency whatever in denying every attribute to all colored Americans. These men worship the Constitution of the United States, would jail anybody who would lay a radical or violent hand upon it, and then turn around and applaud the servants of the people from the president down who connive at violations of the Constitution so long as those violations affect only blacks, and not whites.

I think the world needs nothing so much today as to see the Indian peoples set themselves to the task of self-government, however great and terrible the odds with which they must contend. They are, indeed, bound by chains of ignorance and caste and religion. As to that, I could draw as elaborate a picture as anyone; and yet since my service to democracy is not lip service—since I am of those who have complete faith in the right of self-determination and self-government of all peoples—I can think of nothing that would be more stimulating than to see this experiment tried and to see the Indian people assume the right to say how they shall govern themselves, unmolested by men of another race in a far distant country, possessors of a different type of mind. Either we believe in democracy or we do not; either we believe in self-government and its educative value, or we do not.

That which we of the west do not realize is, of course, the meaning of time. The Indian knows it. When the Indian people achieve their liberty they will be watched like hawks, and if at the end of five years there is trouble and bloodshed, exploitation and corruption of a wholesale kind, it will be said that the experiment is a failure. They will be granted no century in which to undo the wrongs and misgovernment of centuries, in which to carry on an educative process of a magnitude almost unparalleled. You see the west wants results; we want to be "shown"; we want to make over overnight the customs and habits of centuries, even as we completely rebuild our American cities every thirty years. Time is money, and for money we cannot wait.

Yet I repeat, the world needs nothing so much as some of these experiments in self-government because faith in democracy, and democracy itself, are at low ebb. Six and one-half years after the ending of the humbug war to make the world safe for democracy, we find democracy and liberty prostrate everywhere. Mussolini has boasted that he had to stamp upon liberty; he is by no means the only one to wipe bloody shoes upon that prostrate form. Yet it is hard to find a prosperous American who does not acclaim Mussolini on the theory that he saved Italy from something worse! Not all are so frank as Elbert Gary and declare that they would advise their fellow-countrymen to put a Mussolini in the White House, the seat of our government at Washington, a sentiment which if it came from one less rich and powerful might land him in jail, particularly if the name Lenin should take the place of that of Mussolini. What we do need above all else is a recrudescence of democracy the world over, and I do not know a better way that this can come about than through the spectacle of great nations undertaking the democratic experiment, determined to make a success of it, and serving notice upon those white exploiters who insist upon bringing the benefits of a jazz and motor age at the point of bayonets to those who care for other things first, to get out. In Egypt, India, China, South Africa, the Philippines, everywhere that peoples exist who are supposed to accept in silence and humble gratitude the things wished upon them by others of different races, there are stirrings to challenge the existing order, to search men's consciences, to make them avow upon which side they serve and whether they can meet the acid test of sincerity, consistency and genuine devotion to the democratic principle. I welcome these tests, I welcome these conflicts, for I believe with all my heart that out of them will come a purification, a clearing of the atmosphere, a driving out of our national lives of endless humbugs and hypocrisies. Let us stand forth in our true colors! If we are for the exploiter, for the imperialist, for the self-appointed missionaries to the heathen who go forth with a bill of lading in one hand and a rifle in the other, let us know it! It would be an infinite gain to the world as a whole if we then stood out in all our nakedness.

For all that India today desires, America ought to give her the fullest sympathy. There was a time when

*An address delivered at the first annual dinner of the India Society, New York City.

that would have been accorded without question, when our shores were the happy refuge of revolutionists everywhere, when our gates were ajar for the Greek who fought for liberty, for the German who wanted to throw off the yoke of kings, for the Hungarian Kossuth who came to us with his sword in his hand, for Garibaldi and his thousand. Today we deny freedom of speech to a Karolyi; we have put up the bars against men who have struck for liberty abroad; we are denying the right of political asylum that once was our glory. We even deny entrance to one who declares that, witnessing the breakdown of government everywhere, he no longer believes theoretically in government. I am not at all sure that if General Dyer were to come to America he would not be received by the officials of our Security League and our patriotic societies and be given a purse by our captains of industry. Instead I, for one, believe that the heartfelt sympathy of Americans, yes, even those who love England as do I, should go forth to Indians and all their aspirations; and I, for one, wish to record my profound admiration and gratitude for Mahatma Gandhi. I believe that no man in modern times has in himself so personified the spirit of Jesus, and I am certain that nothing can be more important for this world than the triumph of his plan to make right triumph over might without resort to might. The world needs no other lesson half as much. I have no greater wish for this India Society than that when it meets for its annual banquet again a year from now it shall be able to record, not a waning of the influence of Gandhi, but a recrudescence, for through his teachings lies the easiest and most glorious road, not only for India but for all the world.

Finally, I want to give you this concluding sentence. I give you the health and prosperity and liberty of India, and ask that you all dedicate yourselves to Mr. Woodrow Wilson's words: "For the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience."

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD.

Political Confusion in China

The politics of China is always a bewildering maze. It is especially so today. If it is perplexing to those who live in China, how much more must it be to those who live in the home countries, and try to understand the situation from the few telegrams that appear in the newspapers. In a brief way I will try to make a little clearer and intelligible the present political situation in China, though even after my explanation, I fear that perplexity will still be found.

There first came a conflict between the military leaders of the two provinces near Shanghai, the Province of Chekiang, and the Province of Kiangsu. The military governor of the former wished to retain control of the Shanghai arsenal and military operations near Shanghai, which originally belonged to his military rival, the governor of the Province of Kiangsu. The result of this conflict was that the military governor of Chekiang, General Lu, was defeated by Governor Chi of Kiangsu and fled to Japan. The defeat was partly due to the superior quality of the opposing army, and also due to various acts of treachery.

The next drama was the fighting that centered in the north between the military governor of the three provinces of Manchuria, and the Central Government itself in Peking. The President at the time was Tsao Kun, the lord of Manchuria was Chang Tso-lin, the dominant military person on the side of the government was Wu Pei Fu. Those who took part on the side of the forces arrayed against the government were classed in all the mandates as rebels. It was the intention of General Wu to fight this war to a finish. Before he was able to do this, there came an act of treachery or disloyalty on the part of one of his leading officers, generally called the Christian General, Feng Yiu Hsiang. General Feng not only helped to defeat General Wu, he helped to turn the military power over to the hands of General Chang. He also brought about the political coup d'etat. From a military point of view, he professed that his only desire was to bring about the cessation of warfare, but from a political point of view, he also brought about the overturn of the Central Government. He forced the President to issue various mandates for the punishment of those officers who were fighting under orders of the Central Government, and also to write out his own resignation. From that time down to the present, the President has been practically a prisoner within the walls of the presidential palace.

The next stage was the Provisional Government for a brief period. There were really only three men in the cabinet. All the former members of the cabinet fled from Peking with the exception of one, and he still remains in the city, namely, Dr. W. W. Yen. This Provisional Government was succeeded by another Provisional Government which is still in office. This is the Provisional Government under the leadership of Marshal Tuan Chi Jui, the leader of the Anfu party, who was defeated in 1921 by both General Wu Pei Fu and Chang Tso-lin. Having been in retirement up to the present and being a senior military officer, as well as a former premier, he has been looked to as a strong personality all through these years. He is also regarded personally as a man of sterling character and sincerely devoted to the interests of the country. During the confusion that existed the leaders of the various factions and officers of the various provinces began to send in telegrams urging him to come forward and reshape a government in order to save the nation. He was specially supported in this by General Chang Tso-lin. Rival generals also expressed the same desire. The support that was given to Marshal Tuan was therefore practically unanimous. He came to Peking and instead of calling himself a president, he adopted a new terminology. He called himself the Chief Executive. The Government of which he is the head is still called the Provisional Government, and took the place of the previous Provisional Government at the time of the coup d'etat. He has designated men for the cabinet, and he, himself, presides at the cabinet meetings.

In assuming office he determined on calling two conferences—one a preliminary or re-organization conference and the other the people's conference. The former conference has been in session for several weeks, and is meant to deal mainly with the military question—how to disband the armies, to prevent further fighting, and thus to control the revenue which has been used by military authorities. Not much progress has been made in this direction on the part of the conference or on the part of the Chief Executive. Until something is

accomplished in this matter, it will be impossible for the government to secure sufficient revenue to meet its expenses. Unification will also be impossible.

The plan of the present government, through the medium of the Re-organization Conference, is also to draw up regulations whereby representative men from all classes of the people can be assembled together in a People's Conference. This conference is to determine more the political question such as completing the constitution which was already completed by the last parliament and ratified by the President. In addition, laws will be drawn up for the election of a new parliament which in turn will elect a future president.

Thus at present we are in a state of great confusion. We have a form of government in Peking, but the mandates that are issued are still unheeded by various military men in the provinces. Even those who have sent their representatives to appear in the Re-organization Conference have continued to indulge in warfare under one pretext or another. Hence it is uncertain what will be done with the army, it is uncertain whether peace can be established, it is uncertain whether unification can be brought about, it is uncertain whether the Re-organization Conference will carry out the wishes of the Chief Executive or will run counter to them and bring about greater confusion in the capital. It is still uncertain whether the People's Conference will ever be called. It is uncertain whether the Chief Executive will hold office until something is really done or whether out of disgust he will, like others, proceed to retire into private life, and leave the government again without a head.

During these days of transformation wars have been going on in at least three sections of the country. In one of these, that near to Shanghai, the leader of Chekiang, General Lu, who fled to Japan, came back and with the aid of General Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria, attacked Governor Chi of Kiangsu and compelled him to flee to Japan.

There are those who hope for the best. There are others who are extremely pessimistic. For my part, I hope for the best and I wish well for all who are making an attempt to bring about a stable government, peace in the country and the unification of all parts and sections of the country. I think there is a fair chance that something definite will be accomplished. The future alone will disclose the actual facts, and show whether those of us who look on the bright side are right, or those who look on the dark side. One thing is beyond dispute, and that is, that there is great uncertainty, great perplexity, and in general, a bewildering maze in the political life of China.

GILBERT REID.
International Institute, Peking, China.

The Story of My Mind

XIV

As I have already indicated, the Civil War brought many promising reforms to an end, such as that in behalf of peace. If it was the consummation of the anti-slavery agitation, it delayed many other attempts at righting wrongs and at bringing the humanitarian ideal into active relations with political demands. Practically all reform movements ceased their activities while it was in progress; some of them did not resume their agitations after its close, while others renewed their efforts at once or within a brief period.

Of all forms of human activity war is the most absorbing while it continues, and, if it is prolonged, determines the nature and method of every other interest. The Civil War undoubtedly gave opportunity to those methods of business which have been designated as graft, and to every kind of commercial and political corruption which has been known since. It is the opportunities thus provided for gaining wealth rapidly, and under conditions which can be least easily detected because they have the form of patriotism, which cause many men to desire the oncoming of a war. The growth of great wealth by methods not strictly honest and just, and the production of millionaires in considerable numbers, were direct products of the war. These methods of attack upon the public interests went on almost unchecked during the continuance of the war, and the reconstruction period in the South allowed of their retention for some years afterward.

For ten years after the close of the war the wearing of soldiers' garments gave an almost military aspect to the North. Great quantities of these garments were sold for almost nothing, and the soldiers provided themselves with quantities sufficient to last them for years. For at least twenty-five years the country was dominated in greater or lesser degree by the military spirit, and by the motives and interests which grew out of the war. For a considerable period no one could be elected to any important office unless he had served in the Civil War, and the preference was given to those who bore titles. Until Cleveland no one became the President of the United States who had not been a general in the northern armies or held some other important position in connection with the war. At the same time the preference was almost invariably given to army men for governors, members of Congress and foreign embassies. The Grand Army of the Republic was organized by army men, and it attempted again and again to dominate parties and interests wholly outside of military or political affairs, such as the kind of textbooks which should be used in teaching the history of the United States. This military domination was persistent, pernicious, and used for the most partisan ends. Only a few persons dared protest against it, for it was assumed to be at one with patriotism and the best interests of the country.

For more than twenty-five years the war spirit continued to dominate in politics; and when the Republican party could find no other rallying cry for its claim to success because it had saved the country, it waved the "bloody shirt," as it was called, that is, appealed to the fear of a revival of rebellion. As soon as the reconstruction period was over in the South, and the northern armies were withdrawn, the States which had been in rebellion returned to the Democratic party and to the political domination of the whites, in large degree. This gave cause for the Republican cry that the South was as yet a menace, and for a long period this plea was effective. It was used without scruple, appealed to those who had fought on the northern side, and gave the Republican party a patriotic claim on the regard of the voters.

As I recall these phases of the reconstruction era, and the years succeeding, I am amazed at the theories

which were put forward as justifying the methods employed in bringing the rebellious States into the Union again, the enfranchisement of the Negroes, and the establishment of peace throughout the land. The fundamental political theory of the period seems to have been one of the most pronounced individualism, and of a distinctly idealistic type. It was assumed that the ballot in itself was capable of giving men qualities of reason, insight, political knowledge, and ability to judge of ethical motives. Such men as Charles Sumner, not to mention many others of great ability and experience, anticipated that the franchise would give to the Negroes ability to vote wisely and to use political power with discretion and moderation.

Any suggestions at this period looking to the education of the Negroes in preparation for citizenship and the ballot were regarded with disdain. Natural rights dominated in theory the whole political situation in the North, and these inherent rights, this innate capacity for political action, were not to be questioned unless one wished to be regarded as a traitor to his country. In more recent years we have come to recognize that political wisdom has been learned through many hundreds of years, and that it does not belong to persons or peoples who have not outgrown the tribal form of society. The individual capacity is that of the race, and is controlled by industrial, economic and political conditions. This conception seems not to have influenced the statesmen of the reconstruction era, and they gave to a large body of residents of the southern States, who had until the beginning of the Civil War been held as slaves, and belonged to tribes in the savage and semi-barbarous condition in their native continent, the full rights of citizenship. Such a course could not have been followed unless there had been an entirely false conception of the nature of personality in man, the true character of natural rights, and the effects produced upon individual character and capacities by the use of the ballot.

In looking back over the era of reconstruction I cannot reach any other conclusion than that the death of Lincoln was a very great calamity to the nation. He was cautious, without enmity toward the South, and capable of a calm judgment and wisdom this troubled time greatly needed. Andrew Johnson, who came into the presidency on Lincoln's death, was a petty politician, with strong Southern sympathies; and he was soon in an attitude of defiance toward the leaders of the Republican party. I can well recall the dismay with which he was regarded, the contempt with which he was referred to, and his journeys through the country, designated as "swinging round the circle." He was not wise, enlightened or capable of large views. His opponents were partisans with extremely idealistic theories, which they regarded as political wisdom. The spectacle presented by their quarrels was one to distress the whole nation, and to give an entirely false direction to the great task of reconstruction.

In 1868 the domination of the military spirit made it impossible that anyone but a leader in the Civil War should be elected to the presidency. The most conspicuous military leader was Grant, and he secured the place, not because he was a partisan in any sense or because he had been a Republican; but because he was a hero of the hour. There can be no doubt that he was a great military genius, and that from the military point of view he brought the Civil War to an end. He had never been successful, however, in any occupation he had followed before the outbreak of the war, and he was without any political experience or sagacity. In so far as he had taken any part in politics he was a Democrat, and so remained when he was nominated for the presidency by the Republicans. It was inevitable that he should be nominated and elected, and it was practically as inevitable that he should come under the influence of the intriguing and self-seeking politicians, who swarmed in countless numbers throughout the nation at the period of his incumbency of the presidential office.

An unbiased historian[1] has spoken of his "weak judgment and almost infantile credulity," which were "exploited with great shrewdness" by the men he gathered about him. The same writer speaks of his "pitiful stupidity in his estimate of his associates," and that it deepened "the sense of shame among decent people at the unprecedented position of the nation's chief magistrate." The country came to know that the most shameless forms of corruption went on in the national government without the President being aware of it or else with his knowledge and connivance. Investigation proved that "practically every species of maladministration" went on unchecked. "Extravagance, inefficiency, favoritism, disregard for the exact requirements of the law," were among the prevalent evils. The offices of the government were used for personal advantage, and there was little if any hindrance to spoliation, corruption, and grafting. The historian I have quoted says that "the causes most obviously responsible for these evils were the almost universal prevalence of political patronage and that spirit of relentless and unmoral wealth-getting which maintained and even strengthened its hold on the devotees of the political life." All of which indicates the incapacity of Grant for the position he held as the President of the United States. It might be justly said that, while he saved the nation from disunion, he did almost as much to destroy it while he held the presidency for eight years. The least that can be said of him is, that he was quite unfit for the position which he gained as the result of the domination of the military spirit for a quarter of a century following the close of the Civil War. Scandal, thieving, graft, use of office for personal advantage, were constant phases of the national government throughout Grant's administrations. The Tweed ring in New York showed to what depths of corruption business had sunk at this period. The whole nation was shocked and scandalized by the credit mobilier, a form of corporation thievery which came to light during Grant's time. The houses of Congress voted themselves enlarged salaries, which were to reach back into the past for two years; but the protestations of the country put an end to this robbery. In fact, the whole period was one of intrigue, scandal, thievery on a national scale, and of the most widespread corruption. A strong ethical conviction, and a statesman's sense of justice and right, would have enabled Grant to stem this tide; but he was weak where he ought to have been strong, and stubborn where he ought to have been broad-minded. He was undoubtedly honest in the personal sense, but he was easily influenced by others, and he had no capacity for detecting or withstanding the tide of evil-doing about him. This corruption was a direct result of the war conditions carried over into a period of peace.

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[1] W. A. Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic, Vol. 22 in "The American Nation; A History," New York, Harpers, 1907. Pgs. 285, 286, 291.

Questions of the highest importance came before the nation as the result of the war, and of the corruption which followed in its train. Reform was demanded, and many were the efforts made to secure it. The old individualistic and idealistic notions dominated in politics, in legislation, and in judicial decisions. The result was that all attempts at reform were lacking in precision, clearness of purpose, and a scientific conception of what was demanded. There was no definite idea as to the fundamental remedies to be applied.

In the meantime the corruption in the Republican party, and the shameless manner in which the national government had been controlled during Grant's first administration in behalf of graft and personal advantage, brought on the first open demand for reform. In 1872 a Liberal Republican party was organized, but of the most incongruous elements. There was a demand for honesty in government, for the abolition of the spoils system for filling appointive offices, for conciliation towards the southern states, for free trade, and for various other changes. The result was the nomination of Horace Greeley for the presidency, and his acceptance by the Democrats as their candidate, as well as the platform which the Liberal convention in Cincinnati had framed. My admiration for Greeley led me to believe that his nomination was wise, and I should have voted for him had my change of residence not lost me the right to cast a ballot for one of the heroes of my youth. It has been assumed by practically all the historians that Greeley was not the right man for the opportunity then presented, and that Charles Francis Adams or some other less partisan candidate would have been elected. I cannot think so, and am convinced that Grant would have won against any one presented by the Liberal Republican party in connection with the Democrats. The fact is that this reform party was weak in its want of unity, in its indefinite conception of the real demands of the time, and in its inherent discord of purpose. The glamor of military ascendency had not yet weakened in any essential degree, and Grant was almost inevitably the winner.

At the end of his second term, although he had proved himself greatly incompetent, Grant had a large following for a third term; and many persons thought that nothing but evil would result if he were not continued in the presidency. All who had profited by his weaknesses and the prevalent corruption were eager to secure his continuance in office. Great as is the power of the party which holds all the avenues of government, the tradition against more than two terms made it impossible that even the great military hero should defy what had become an unwritten law of the nation. The result was that Tilden had a majority of votes, and that Hayes, by a strictly partisan vote of an electoral commission, was accorded the position of President.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

(*To Be Continued*)

Echoes of the Huxley Number

EDEN PAUL:

I should have liked to dwell on Huxley as biologist and philosopher, and on the problem of his attitude towards socialism, but that is impossible for lack of time. I can only say a word or two on my personal memories of the man. Although I was thirty when he died, I saw nothing of him after my own mind had ripened, and when I had become interested in him as a thinker and a Darwinian. It is from my boyhood days that the personal memories come. The Huxleys were family friends. I don't suppose I knew in those days that T. H. Huxley was a "great" man; I certainly never thought about the matter. But I knew he was amazingly genial and kindly, with a rare way of amusing young folk without giving that unpleasant sense of gods stooping down from Olympus. . . Perhaps of all the elders I have known, in the days when elders were very old indeed, Huxley has left the most cordial impression on my imagination. Now that I have myself become an elder, such a memory is precious. It comes into my mind more often than the intellectual debt I owe to Huxley for what I learned from his books in my twenties and thirties—and that is a very big debt indeed.

I am glad that UNITY is publishing a Huxley centennial issue. The enlightenment that Huxley wished so much to spread is needed in dark corners under the Stars and Stripes quite as much as in the Old World. Is there not today a backwoods State somewhere in the American Union in which it is a punishable offense to teach what Huxley thought about the Six Days of Creation? So, at least I have been told.

COULSON KERNAHAN:

My father knew Professor Huxley personally, and I remember him, though I was a boy at the time, and I came across a letter of his only the other day.

I do not feel competent to express an opinion of the man and his achievements, but here is an anecdote. It was told me by my friend, Dr. Stoddart-Walker, nephew of Professor John Stuart Blackie.

Huxley and Blackie were chatting one day, and the former, who prided himself on his gift for telling a "story," told Blackie one at which the latter smiled, but did not guffaw. This rather annoyed Huxley, who said: "I fear you don't see the point, Blackie. There's a saying in England that you can't get a joke into a Scot's head without a surgical operation." "Yes," said Blackie, slyly, "but you see, Huxley, yours was an *English* joke."

I quoted something Huxley said about evolution—that he did not hold it as a dogma but as a working hypothesis. W. exclaimed: "It is beautiful—such a confession as that: the most glorious and satisfying spiritual statement of the 19th century. Can the churches, the priests, the dogmatists, produce anything to match it?"

—*Horace Traubel,* in "With Walt Whitman in Camden," under date of July 31, 1888.

Fate slew him, but he did not drop;
She felled—he did not fall—
Impaled him on her fiercest stakes—
He neutralized them all.

She stung him, sapped his firm advance,
But, when her worst was done,
And he, unmoved, regarded her,
Acknowledged him a man.

—*Emily Dickinson.*

CORRESPONDENCE

THE GUILT OF SERBIA

[*From our Bulgarian Correspondent.*]

Editor of UNITY:

In your issue for the 23rd last, you quote Mr. Arthur Ponsonby's (former Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs) comments on Serbia's responsibility for the *Sarajevo foul murders* and for what ensued. This fact prompts me to send you a translation of Serbia's avowal (not received—Ed.).

Recently a book appeared with nine articles by eminent Serbians—"Reminiscences Ten Years After the War." The first article is by Mr. Ljnba Ivanovitch, former Cabinet Minister and recently President of the Serbian Skoupshbena (Parliament). In it Mr. Ivanovitch tells of what he and the government knew of the conspiracy, before the murders were committed.

Enclosed is a translation of part of the article which deals with the revelation (see below.—Ed.).

I may add that last year on the anniversary of the murders there was quite a public demonstration in Belgrade. The murderers were proclaimed, in speech and in the press, as national heroes, and the leader, executed by the Austrians, *Printzep,* as a martyr.

The Serbians glory in what they should not speak of . . . .

The enclosed papers will enlighten you. These papers I prepared at the request of an American friend, the author of "Let France Explain," Mr. Frederick Bausman. I have used them extensively. I do not expect to see them published in UNITY, but I think they will add to your personal knowledge.

Sofia, Bulgaria. P. M. MATTHÉEFF.

TRANSLATION

The beginning of the war found me Minister of Public Instruction in the Cabinet of Mr. N. Pashitch. For those days I have written down memories of events lived through and notes. From these for this case I give here a few extracts, because I think the time has not come for full publication.

I do not remember whether it was towards the end of May or the beginning of June, when one day Mr. Pashitch told us (in this he acted exclusively with Mr. Stoyan Protich, then Minister of Interior) and others, that some men were preparing to start for Sarajevo, there to murder Franz Ferdinand, where a great reception was being prepared for him, on *Vidov den* itself. Later I was informed that this was being prepared by men secretly organized, belonging to the circle of Bosna-Herzegovina students, studying in Belgrade. Pashich and we, the other ministers, decided, and Mr. Stoyan Protich agreed, to give orders to the frontier authorities on the Drin to prevent the passage of the young men conspirators who had started for the purpose from Belgrade. But the frontier authorities were themselves in the conspiracy, and they failed to execute the order of Mr. Stoyan Protich, and they, the authorities, reported to him and he communicated it to us, that his order had arrived late, as the conspirators had already passed the frontier. Thus the intention of the government to prevent the execution of the prepared *attentat,* failed. In the same manner remained without result the attempt of our diplomat in Vienna, Mr. Iotze Iovanovich, to forewarn the Minister Belinski against the Herz Herzog's fatal trip. And thus was executed the Saraevo crime on a larger scale than foreseen, and with results which no one could have even dreamt of!

The principal actor, *Gavril Printzip,* in the conspiracy I knew personally. I had seen him two or three times in my ministry, when he came to beg me to permit him to be admitted to private examination in the gymnasium (college), first for the fifth class, and then for the sixth. I remember him; he was of small stature, broad-shouldered, with pale but clean face. He spoke simply and without fear. I always encouraged him, as I did always those who came to Belgrade from Austro-Hungary, as emigrants, to study hard, to finish their studies well, and thus prepare themselves to work and be useful for their people, and generally for the better attainment of the national ideal.

I permitted his admission to the two examinations he had asked for, and he passed both his examinations with distinction.

On his last visit to me we separated pleasantly. He had come to make sure that I had granted his petition and to know whether I had issued the necessary order to the Director of the Gymnasium. Similar small demands from other young emigrants are often made to me and are an annoyance, and I scolded Printzip. He, unhappy Printzip, at first stared me in the face and then began to excuse himself, pronouncing the words: "Pardon, excuse me, I did not know, I did not know," and reached the door. I rose from my chair and began to console him; but he went off quickly . . .

But who could have then imagined such a thing, that this same excited, but apparently modest student youth, would execute the *attentat* with such fatal results. On the day itself, *Vidovden,* in the afternoon, I was at home, about 5 o'clock, when an official of the Press Bureau called on the telephone and told me of the crime committed in Saraevo. Although I knew what was being prepared there for this day, I was, while holding the instrument, quite surprised and at the moment I felt as if somebody had struck me a blow unexpectedly, especially when this first information was confirmed by others. And deep thoughts and cares oppressed me.

Further on Mr. Ljuba Iovanovich, the author, gives some details to explain what the Serbian government did to convince the world that the Serbian government had no share in the crime.

Literal translation,
P. M. MATTHÉEFF.

A FOUNDATION

Editor of UNITY:

Your reply to Mr. L. on page 150 of UNITY leads me to call your attention to a passage in Henry George's "Social Problems"—the last paragraph of Chapter XVIII.

"Let me not be misunderstood," Henry George warns us there; "I do not say that in the recognition of the equal and unalienable right of each human being to the natural elements from which life must be supported and wants satisfied, lies the solution of all social problems. I fully recognize the fact that even after we do this, *much will remain to do* . . . But whatever else we do, so long as we fail to recognize the equal right to the elements of nature, nothing will avail to remedy that unnatural inequality in the distinction of wealth which is fraught with so much evil and danger."

The real point is right there, and not on any question of whether Henry George's proposal would be final and perfect and complete. It would be no more complete than a dwelling would be when the foundation had been laid. But as no durable dwelling can be erected without a foundation so no social reform can be effective which does not rest upon recognition in some form of common rights to natural resources.

LOUIS F. POST.

OUTLAWING WAR

Editor of UNITY:

War being contrary to the teachings of Jesus is naturally inconsistent. In the German army there were seven thousand Salvation Army soldiers and hundreds of thousands of Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran and Catholic Christians killing one another. This is a spectacle to make angels weep. *Is it not time that the Church quit prostituting the religion of Jesus before the world and started to learn what some of its first principles are?* The heathen are looking askant and wondering what Christ taught about killing people. The Jews are fearful as in a western city where a popular evangelist was building a tabernacle the Russian Jews got up a petition, thinking that a massacre would follow a revival. It is not to be wondered at. *If it is good religion to kill Germans the next step is that it is good religion to kill non-Christians as they do in some European countries."* Christianity is not fanaticism. It is on a higher plane than Mohammedanism which makes converts by the sword. *Satan may blame pogroms and wars on the Holy Spirit but the Third Person of the Trinity never led Christians to kill people of other creeds or nations.*

There never has been a war justified in this dispensation. If there has been it would make the teachings of Jesus a lie. The Quakers were the only real Christians among the colonists that would render unto Caesar the things which were Caesar's with or without representation in Parliament. In the Civil War if both sides had not been so hot-headed, Congress would have bought the slaves and a million lives would not have been lost. The ends do not always justify the means. Christianity does not teach people to kill Czars, Kings or those in authority. Nor does it teach the Japanese to kill in the name of the Japanese Empire, the Chinese in the name of the Chinese Republic and the Caucasian tribes the same.

Going into all the world and setting people at one another's throats on the grounds of national, state, clan, or individual rights is not preaching the Gospel. *Now is the time for the Church—the salt of the earth—to bring all its influence against war.* The next one means the destruction of whole cities as large as New York, London and Paris. Jesus knew that nation

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

TAGORE'S INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has, during his life time, received world recognition as a poet. He is regarded as a mystic by some and a seer by many, but it is hardly appreciated that he is one of the greatest of the world's educators, with a vision of a new social order which would afford the fullest opportunity for unfettered development of individuality. It is clear to me that his contribution in the domain of education, in theory and practice, is no less valuable than his poetry.

Dr. Tagore has unbounded faith in true education as the ultimate remedy for solving social, political, and international problems. In 1901 he founded the Shantiniketan (Peace Retreat) School at Bolpur, a little over a hundred miles from Calcutta, with only five boys as pupils.

In the following letter to a schoolmaster in England Dr. Tagore expresses in some detail the ideal of education of children in his school.

"To give spiritual culture to our boys was my principal object in starting my school in Bolpur. Fortunately, in India we have the model before us in the tradition of our ancient forest schools where the teachers' aim was to realize their lives in God and their homes. The atmosphere was full of the aspiration for the infinite, and the students who grew up with their teachers closely united with them in spiritual relationship felt for the reality of God.

"Having this ideal of a school in my mind which should be a home and a temple in one, where teaching should be part of a worshipful life, I selected this spot, away from all distractions of town, hallowed by the memory of a pious life whose days were passed there in communion with God.

"You must not imagine that I have fully realized my ideal—but the ideal is there working itself out through all the obstacles of the hard prose of modern life. In spiritual matters one should forget that he must teach others or achieve results that can be measured, and in my school here I think it proper to measure our success by the spiritual growth in the teachers. In these things gain to one's personal self is gain to all, like lighting a lamp which is lighting a room.

"The first help that our boys get here on this path, is from the cultivation of love of nature and sympathy with all living creatures. Music is of great assistance to them—songs being not of ordinary hymn type, dry and didactic, but as full of lyric joy as the author could put in them. You can understand how these songs affect the boys when you know that singing them is the best enjoyment they choose for themselves in their leisure time, in the evening when the moon is up, in the rainy days when their classes are closed. Mornings and evenings fifteen minutes' time is given them to sit in an open space composing their mind for worship. We never watch them and ask questions about what they think in those times, but leave it entirely to themselves, to the spirit of the place and the time, and the suggestion of the practice itself. We rely more upon the sub-conscious influence of nature, of the associations of the place and the daily life of worship that we live than on any conscious effort."*

Imbibing the true spirit of freedom to develop personality is the ideal Dr. Tagore has tried to experiment with in this school for twenty years, and the school has now grown into the International University—the Viswa Bharati.

This school for children discourages cramming, examinations, and pressure of discipline as much as possible. The central motive is character building, giving the fullest freedom of action, affording an opportunity to commune with nature, living a life of comradeship and confidence with the teacher. Mr. Pearson, one of the teachers in the school, says:

"This custom of holding meetings out-of-doors is characteristic of the school, where all the classes are held under the trees or on the verandas, excepting during the rains. The boys often organize some entertainments in the evenings, some circus performance or some play composed by the boys themselves to which the masters are invited. . . . This charactertistic of one side of the school life is vital to the ideals with which the school was started. Education consists, not in giving information which the boys will forget as soon as they conveniently can without danger of failing in their examinations, but allowing the boys to develop their own characters in the way which is natural to them. The younger the boys are, the more original they show themselves to be. It is only when the shadow of a university education begins to loom over them that they lose their natural freshness and originality, and become candidates for matriculation. When the small boys take up an idea and try to put it into practice, there is a freshness about it which is spontaneous and full of joy of real creation. This ideal of allowing the boys to develop their own characters as much as possible is seen in another institution of the school, namely, Courts, constituted by the boys for the punishment of minor offenses against the laws which the boys themselves formulate. Most of the discipline of the school is managed by these Courts, and although there are doubtless cases of miscarriage of justice, there is no complaint amongst the boys about the judgments pronounced against the offenders. In this case as in others, self-government is better than good government. The committees which the boys form are intended to deal with all aspects of the school life in which the boys are themselves interested. On one occasion the boys agreed to carry on all the work of the school, cooking and washing up, drawing the water, buying the stores with the help of the teachers. Although the experiment was only found practicable for about a month, during that time there were no servants employed to do any of this heavy work, and many of the boys worked like Trojans without complaint, even though it was the very hottest time of the year."*

Dr. Tagore believes that the students and teachers must live together so that they may serve as an inspiration to one another. To him the function of a true teacher must not only be that of a research worker but an inspiration to students:

"A most important truth which we are apt to forget is that a teacher can never truly teach unless he is still learning himself. A lamp can never light another lamp unless it continues to burn its own flame. The teacher who has come to the end of his subject, who has no living traffic with his knowledge, but repeats his lessons to his students can only load their minds; he cannot quicken them. Truth must not only inform but inspire. If the inspiration dies out and information only accumulates, then truth loses its infinity. The greater part of learning in the schools has been wasted, because for most of our teachers, their subjects are like dead specimens of once living things, with which they have learned acquaintance but no communication of life and love."

"As development of personality is the prime function of education then art and music education which are often ignored, even in western universities, must be encouraged. The spirit of utilitarianism in education must be replaced by creative nature in art because a large part of man can never find fulness of expression in the meager language of words as much as in art and music."

In his discussions of the "Interpretation of Indian History" Dr. Tagore has clarified his vision of the cultural unity of humanity. "As the mission of the rose lies in the unfolding of the petals which imply distinctness, so the rose of humanity is perfect only when the diverse races and nations have evolved their perfect distinct charactertistics, but all attached to the stem of humanity by the bond of love. . . . We shall realize that only through the development of racial individuality can we truly attain to universality, and only in the light of the spirit of universality we can perfect individuality."

In an article on the "Aims and Ideals of The International University" Dr. Tagore says: "India has her renaissance. She is preparing to make her contribution to the world of the future. In the past she produced her great culture and in the present age she has an equally important contribution to make to the culture of the New World which is emerging from the wreckage of the old.

"This is a momentous period of her history, pregnant with precious possibilities. Being strongly impressed with the need and responsibility which every individual today must realize according to his power, I have formed the nucleus of an International University in India, as one of the best means of promoting

*W. W. Pearson, "Shantiniketan," pp. 18-21.

*Pearson, op. cit., pp. 43-46.

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would rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom but that does not excuse those that take part or cancel the blessing on peacemakers. *We can not have a double standard for our lives simply because governments think that they have to do things contrary to the teachings of Jesus.* Daniel, the Hebrew children, Peter and John, were not double-standard men. There may be fiery furnaces and lions' dens for those that will preach the Word in season and out of season. Pure religion and undefiled may even cost us our lives but if we fight the good fight and keep the faith once delivered to the Saints, there will be laid up for us a crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous judge, will give us at His appearing.

EARL A. CRIPPS.

New York City.

mutual understanding between the East and the West. This institution according to the plan I have in mind, will invite students from the west to study the different systems of Indian philosophy, literature, art, and music in their proper environment, encouraging them to carry on research work in collaboration with the scholars already engaged in the task.

"The western universities give their students an opportunity to learn all that the European people have contributed in their western culture. Thus the intellectual mind of the west has been luminously revealed to the world. What is needed to complete this illumination is for the east to collect its own scattered lamps and offer them to the enlightenment of the world. . . . It is my desire to extend by degrees the scope of the University on simple lines until it comprehends the whole range of eastern culture—the Aryan, the Semitic, Mongolian, and others. Its object will be to reveal the Eastern mind to the East herself and to the rest of the world."†

"Creative Unity" is really the watchword of this International University. Dr. Tagore says: "This institution should be a perpetual creation by the cooperative enthusiasm of teachers and students, growing with the growth of their soul; a world in itself, self-sustaining, independent, rich, with ever-renewing life, radiating life across space and time, attracting and maintaining round it a planetary system of dependent bodies. Its aim should lie in imparting life-breath to the complete man, who is intellectual as well as economic, bound by social bonds, but aspiring towards spiritual freedom and final perfection."*

The International University is not the personal property of Dr. Tagore, but an incorporated educational association for the maintenance of which Dr. Tagore has not only contributed the amount he received from the Nobel Prize but the royalty of his Bengalee books and a part of his ancestral fortune and earnings.

The broad scope and purpose of the International University is summed up in the following statement, a clause from its Constitution:

"To study the Mind of Man in its realization of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view.

'To bring into more intimate relation with one another, through patient study and research, the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity.

"To seek to realize in a common fellowship of study the meeting of East and West, and thus ultimately strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the establishment of a free communication of ideas."

TARAKNATH DAS.

†"The Orient" (New York), Vol. I, No. 4.
*Tagore, "Creative Unity," pp. 193-194.

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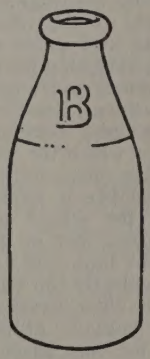
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